

# SENATE RECORD VOTE ANALYSIS

105th Congress  
2nd Session

Vote No. 37

March 18, 1998, 5:46 pm  
Page S-2208 Temp. Record

## ATROCITIES IN KOSOVO/Passage

**SUBJECT:** A resolution urging an end to Serbian and other atrocities in Kosovo . . . S. Con. Res. 85. Passage.

### ACTION: CONCURRENT RESOLUTION AGREED TO, 98-0

**SYNOPSIS:** As introduced and passed, S.Con. Res 85, a resolution urging an end to Serbian and other atrocities in Kosovo, will express the sense of the Senate, the House concurring:

- that the United States should condemn the Serbian government for its gross violations of the human rights of its citizens, including its "indiscriminate use of Serbian paramilitary police units against the Albanian population of Kosovo";
- that the United States should condemn any terrorist actions by any group or individual in Kosovo;
- that the international community should support the Contact Group's call for broad-based sanctions against Serbia unless police and paramilitary units under its control immediately comply with its terms for stopping atrocities in Kosovo (the "Contact Group" is a six-nation group (the United States, Great Britain, Russia, France, Germany, and Italy) that monitors the situation in the former Yugoslavia; the Contact Group's terms are that the Red Cross must have access to areas in Kosovo where recent violence and killing have been reported, that Serbia must withdraw special police units from Kosovo, and that Serbia must enter into unconditional negotiations with ethnic Albanian political leaders in order to find a peaceful political solution to the conflict);
- the United States should freeze Yugoslavian and Serbian government funds if those terms are not met by March 25, 1998;
- the United States should demand that the Serbian government, the ethnic Albanian leadership, and representatives of all ethnic and religious groups in Kosovo "immediately begin unconditional talks to achieve a peaceful resolution to the conflict in Kosovo and to provide for the exercise of the legitimate civil and political rights of all persons in Kosovo"; and
- the United States should demand that international human rights monitors, who have been forced out of Kosovo, should be allowed to return immediately in order to be able to report on all such violations.

Background: From the end of World War II until 1991, Yugoslavia was comprised of the republics of Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia,

(See other side)

YEAS (98)				NAYS (0)		NOT VOTING (2)	
Republican (54 or 100%)		Democrats (44 or 100%)		Republicans (0 or 0%)	Democrats (0 or 0%)	Republicans (1)	Democrats (1)
Abraham	Helms	Akaka	Johnson			Mack- <sup>2AY</sup>	Inouye- <sup>2</sup>
Allard	Hutchinson	Baucus	Kennedy				
Ashcroft	Hutchison	Biden	Kerrey				
Bennett	Inhofe	Bingaman	Kerry				
Bond	Jeffords	Boxer	Kohl				
Brownback	Kempthorne	Breaux	Landrieu				
Burns	Kyl	Bryan	Lautenberg				
Campbell	Lott	Bumpers	Leahy				
Chafee	Lugar	Byrd	Levin				
Coats	McCain	Cleland	Lieberman				
Cochran	McConnell	Conrad	Mikulski				
Collins	Murkowski	Daschle	Moseley-Braun				
Coverdell	Nickles	Dodd	Moynihan				
Craig	Roberts	Dorgan	Murray				
D'Amato	Roth	Durbin	Reed				
DeWine	Santorum	Feingold	Reid				
Domenici	Sessions	Feinstein	Robb				
Enzi	Shelby	Ford	Rockefeller				
Faircloth	Smith, Bob	Glenn	Sarbanes				
Frist	Smith, Gordon	Graham	Torricelli				
Gorton	Snowe	Harkin	Wellstone				
Gramm	Specter	Hollings	Wyden				
Grams	Stevens						
Grassley	Thomas						
Gregg	Thompson						
Hagel	Thurmond						
Hatch	Warner						

#### EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

#### SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea  
AN—Announced Nay  
PY—Paired Yea  
PN—Paired Nay

Montenegro, Bosnia-Herzegovina, and Macedonia. Additionally, a region in the southwestern part of Serbia bordering Albania, Kosovo, had broad autonomous status and participated on an equal basis with the Yugoslav republics. Yugoslavia was first created after World War I, with the union of previously independent Serbia (including Kosovo and Macedonia) and Montenegro with former parts of Austria-Hungary: Slovenia, Croatia, and Bosnia-Herzegovina. After World War II, Yugoslavia was reconstituted as a socialist federation on the model of the Soviet Union. The federal republics generally represented distinct ethnic groups (with the exception of Bosnia-Herzegovina), usually characterized by one of three religions--Roman Catholic, Orthodox, or Moslem. The region has been the scene of brutal ethnic and religious conflicts for hundreds of years. Kosovo has always had a mixed Albanian and Serb population; until this century the Serbs formed the majority. Serbs are Orthodox Christians; Albanians, since they converted from Christianity en masse under Turkish rule 500 years ago, are mostly Moslem. In 1912, prior to the formation of Yugoslavia, Serbia annexed Kosovo from Ottoman Turkey. A major shift occurred during World War II, when Kosovo was attached to the Axis puppet state of Albania and Albanians actively drove Serbs out. After the war, under communist rule, that shift was continued, as displaced Serbs were blocked from returning while immigration from Albania was permitted. By 1989, when autonomy was revoked by the communist regime of Slobodan Milosevic, Kosovo was 90 percent Albanian/10 percent Serbian. Ethnic Albanian leaders in Kosovo insist on an independent Kosovo. The Clinton Administration opposes changes in international borders, but supports Kosovo being detached from Serbia and declared a republic of Yugoslavia, which would give it the ability to declare independence. Albanian elements have begun staging attacks on Serbian officials and civilians, and on Albanians who violate their boycott of Serbian institutions. The Milosevic regime in Belgrade has responded with increased repression and has employed heavy paramilitary police force, with dozens of Albanian civilians being killed.

**Those favoring passage contended:**

The United States needs to act quickly with the rest of the civilized world to stop the communist thug Slobodan Milosevic of Serbia from starting another genocidal "ethnic cleansing" campaign. Over the course of the past two weeks, he has sent heavily armed paramilitary forces into Kosovo to slaughter Albanian Moslem civilians. Armed personnel carriers, heavy machine guns, and even helicopter gunships have been used to attack and murder innocent civilians, including women and children. There is also very strong circumstantial evidence that many civilians were captured and tortured before their execution, and that they were buried in mass graves to hide the evidence. These actions are extremely ominous. For 4 years we stood on the Senate floor and pleaded with our colleagues to act when Serbia was committing similar atrocities in Bosnia. In that evil terrorist campaign, more than 200,000 Moslems were murdered, and in the areas conquered by Serbia virtually every Moslem civilian was driven out. We are very fearful that Milosevic is about to start a similar campaign in Kosovo. Kosovo is a formerly autonomous province of Serbia with a 90-percent Albanian Moslem majority. If the world does not act quickly, we know that the butcher of Belgrade will have no qualms about murdering our driving out that 90 percent of the population. On moral grounds, we cannot allow that genocide to occur. We must also act for national security reasons. If this extermination campaign begins, other countries in the region, including Macedonia, Albania, Greece, and Turkey will almost certainly become involved. There is a very grave danger that the conflict will spread widely, and may result in a fracturing of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization as members support opposing sides. A peaceful resolution to Kosovo's desire for independence is certainly in the interests of the citizens of Kosovo, and it is also in the interests of the world. The world needs to pressure Serbia to negotiate fairly and peacefully with the citizens of Kosovo. This resolution will apply such pressure. We urge our colleagues to vote in its favor, and thus send the signal that we are not going to allow another Bosnia, or worse, to happen.

**While favoring passage, some Senators expressed the following reservations:**

Nothing in this resolution should be taken as an endorsement of United States military action in Kosovo. For 4 years we opposed the arms embargo in Bosnia, and for the past three years we have opposed our military presence in that country. We do not believe having those troops there serves any strategic interests, nor do we believe that it will or has done anything more than preserve the ethnic cleansing results of the war in that country. The Senate voted by a very narrow margin to allow a limited deployment of no more than 12 months in Bosnia; so far, more than \$8 billion has been spent on what seems to be evolving into a permanent occupation. This commitment threatens national security. For instance, all of our logistical support in Germany is currently being used to support the Bosnian operation; if another conflict erupted in Iraq or elsewhere, that support would therefore not be available. Our military forces are only about half the size they were just a few years ago, and they are overcommitted. We should not add to that burden by making further commitments that are not necessary for national security. With this caveat, we urge passage of this resolution.

**No arguments were expressed in opposition to passage.**